1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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built of wood, some of which has been brought by the funeral party, while the rest is found near the burning ground. The wood used on this occasion must be of the kind called *kers*[1] and the pyre is built of an oblong shape, rising about three feet above the ground.

The first of the funeral ceremonies is different for the two sexes. At the funeral of a male the ceremony of *puzhutpimi*, "earth we throw," or *kedrpuzhutpimi*, "funeral earth we throw," is performed, while the corresponding ceremony for a woman is to place certain leaves in the armlet on the right arm of the corpse.

THE PUZHUTPIMI CEREMONY

In the *puzhutpimi* ceremony a man digs up a little earth in front of the entrance to the buffalo pen. The digger must belong to the Tartharol, if the dead man is one of the Teivaliol, and *vice versâ*; thus, at the funeral of Pursevan (53)[2] of Kuudr, the earth was dug by Kedjeri (6) of Nòdrs. In this case the Tartharol were told to send someone to dig, and they selected Kedjeri.

At the funeral of a Tarthar man the earth is first thrown by the *wursol*, who must be, on this occasion, one of the Teivaliol. A Melgars *wursol* may not perform this office. After the *wursol* has thrown earth, it is thrown by certain relatives of the deceased who are present. At a Teivali funeral only the relatives perform this ceremony, no one corresponding to the *wursol* taking part.

Before the people begin to throw earth, one of the dead man's division asks "*Puzhutkina?*"—"Shall I throw earth?" and a man of the other division replies, "*Puzhut!*"—"Throw earth!" At the funeral of Pursevan a Teivali man asked the Tartharol in this way, and the Tartharol responded. At this funeral earth was thrown by the following: Punatvan (53), a younger brother of the dead man; Kuriolv and Piliar (52), Pöteners (54); Targners, Pungusivan and Tevò, the sons of the

[1] *Eugenia Arnottiana*. This is the tree in which the hole is cut at the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

[2] This was a *marvainolhadr*, but the rules for the earth-throwing are the same at the first funeral.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

dead man, and Pòl, the son of Punatvan. In this case all who threw earth were not only Kuudrol—*i.e.*, of the same clan as the dead man—but were also of the same family, so that their relation to one another can be traced in the genealogies. Kuriolv, Piliar and Pöteners would all have called Pursevan "*aia*," or father, and were first cousins once removed according to our system of kinship. I do not know whether the earth-throwing is usually limited to the nearer relatives in the same clan. The family to which Pursevan belonged was unusually numerous, and it is probable that in most cases other families of the clan are called upon to take a part.

At a funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse[1] the earth was thrown into a circle made of rough stones laid upon the grass with an opening on one side, and Mr. Thurston[2] records a similar case in which the earth was thrown into a circle of stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been constructed for the occasion. This is probably done when the funeral is held at a place where there is no *tu*, and it is possible that these funerals were not being held at regular funeral places of the clan, and that the circles of stones were intended to represent buffalo pens. At the funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse the 'priest' handed a bag to the nearest relatives, who tied it to the stick with which they turned up the earth.

Each man, as he throws, kneels down, facing the opening of the pen, and then bows down so that he touches the earth with his forehead, many saying "*Swami*" as they do this. Three handfuls of earth are thrown into the pen, and then three handfuls are thrown backwards on the corpse, the man standing up as soon as he has done this. Each man covers his head with his cloak before he throws, as shown in Figs. 49 and 50.[3]

[1] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii., p. 274.

[2] *Bull.*, 1901, iv., p. 12.

[3] These photographs were obtained from Messrs. Wiele and Klein, and I do not know the place or nature of the funeral which they illustrate, but there is no indication of a pen in the picture; they probably represent throwing earth at the entrance of a former pen. There is such a place at Taradrkirsi, the male funeral place of the Kars clan. Here earth is thrown by the side of a wood where the forest has grown over the site of an old *tu*.

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THE TIVERI TÛR CEREMONY

764 At the funeral of a woman no earth is thrown, but a
602 ceremony is performed which is said to correspond to it. A
606 woman goes in search of the leaves of the *tiveri* plant,[1] the leaves being called *tiveri tûr*. The woman who plucks the leaves must be the *motvilth* (daughter-in-law) of the dead

FIG. 50.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. THROWING EARTH BACKWARDS ON THE CORPSE.

woman, but if it is a child who is dead the leaves are plucked by the mother-in-law or potential mother-in-law. If a dead woman has no daughter-in-law, it was said that her daughter might pluck the leaves, but at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), a childless woman, the leaves were sought and plucked by Naburveli, the wife of Mushkers (28), who would have called the husband of Kiuneimi "brother," being of the same family and generation, although only his second cousin according to

[1] *Atylosia Candollei.*

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602 606 764 our system of kinship. In this case, therefore, the leaves were plucked by a sister-in-law, or, more strictly, by the wife of the 'brother' of the dead woman's husband. In this case both Kiuneimi and Naburveli were daughters of Nòdrs men, but this was probably only a coincidence.

At the funeral of Kiuneimi, Naburveli was accompanied by a man and by another woman, but it was quite clear that they would on no account be allowed to touch the leaves, which must be plucked by the daughter-in-law or other relative who is performing the ceremony. When found, the *tiveri* leaves are put by the woman in the armlet on the right arm of the dead woman. Then the men present say to the woman :—

"*Parthûl*	*ûtchka,*	*tiveri*	*thr*	*parch*	*pudthka?*"
In the armlet	is it put,	*tiveri*	leaves	plucking	have you come?

and the woman replies :—

"*Tiveri*	*thr*	*parch*	*pudthpimi,*	*parthûl*	*ûtchpimi,*
Tiveri	leaves	plucking	we have come,	in the armlet	we have put,

Ir	*pats!*"
the buffalo	catch!

The woman thus announces that this ceremony has been completed, and that they may proceed to the next event of the funeral rites, that of catching the buffalo.

The *tiveri thr* ceremony of a woman's funeral was said to correspond to the earth-throwing ceremony of a man's funeral, but this correspondence may only mean that each is the first of the actual funeral ceremonies. Since, however, a woman belongs to the clan of her husband, the leaves are always put into the armlet by a woman of the same clan as the deceased. In this respect the ceremony resembles that of earth-throwing, but my informants laid stress on the fact that the ceremony should be performed by a *motvilth* or other relative-in-law, and no reference was made to the fact that they would be of the same clan. This makes it probable that there is no real correspondence between the two ceremonies.

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764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
576 would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
602 which is known as *kachüttht*i[1] (*kach*, cloth, *üttht*i or *ütiti*, he
618

FIG. 55.—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception[2] has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

[1] This ceremony is also called *kachpüttchpimi*.

[2] Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Toda funerals. It takes place in the middle of a crowd, who gather round the corpse possibly while the lamentation is still going on or while other ceremonies are in progress. In the first funeral I witnessed the ceremony took place while dancing was going on, and I missed it entirely, though I was told afterwards that it had taken place as usual, and was able to obtain the names of the chief actors.

In the ceremony of *kackütthti*, a man belonging to the clan of the deceased gives a cloth to one of his *paiol*, or brothers-in-law. The latter gives the cloth to his wife or wife's sister, or to some woman whom he would be allowed to marry, and the woman places the cloth on the corpse. The man who originally gave the cloth then takes it from the body and gives it to another *paiol*, and the ceremony is repeated till the cloth has been given to all the *paiol* present.

The man who gives the cloth should belong to the same clan as the dead person. At the funeral of a male, the proper person is the father of the deceased, if he is alive, or some other elder of the clan. At the funeral of a woman, a man of the clan of the woman's husband is chosen. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3 and 28), a widow of Kanòdrs, the cloth was given by Neratkutan (28), who was of the same family as the husbands of the dead woman and the eldest representative of their generation. At the funeral of Sinerani (52), the cloth was given by Tebkudr (68), who was the younger brother of the father of Keinba, the husband of the dead child.

The men called *paiol*, to whom the cloth is given, seem to include all those who have married women of the same clan as the giver of the cloth. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi the cloth was given to Pepob (44) of Melgars, and to Nelkush and Tevò (3) of Nòdrs, who had all married women of Kanòdrs.

At the funeral of Sinerani, the cloth was given to Kuriolv (52), who was the father of the dead child, not, however, for this reason, but because he was the husband of Sintharap, Tebkudr's sister. At this funeral the only other man to whom the cloth was given was Piliag (52), who received it in the place of his brother, Piliar (52), who was not present. The latter, like Kuriolv, was the brother-in-law of Tebkudr (68).

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764 If there is no *paiol* present the cloth may be given to a *matchuni*,[1] 602 and this may also happen even when *paiol* are present. Thus at one funeral at which I was present, the *marvainol-* 618 *kedr* of Pursevan (53), the cloth was given by Piliar (52) to Teikudr (63), his *matchuni*. Piliar was the son of Mutevan and Teikudr was the son of Kavani, the sister of Mutevan.

If neither *paiol* nor *matchuni* be present, it was said that the cloth might be given to a brother, *i.e.*, a man of the same clan, but this probably never happens and the statement is possibly an error.

The man who receives the cloth hands it to his wife, if she is present; if she is not present, he may put it on the corpse himself, and I saw this done more than once. On one occasion a man gave it to a woman who was not his wife, but in this case he was acting as a substitute for the husband of the woman.

This ceremony is one in which a man of the same clan as the deceased person gives a cloth to a man who has married into his family. The latter hands on the cloth to his wife, who was, before her marriage, of the same clan as the giver of the cloth, and it is this woman who places the cloth on the dead body.

764 The father of each woman who places the cloth on the 767 body receives a fee of one rupee called *kachkars*, or cloth- rupee, but the sum is not paid till the woman has attended 437 twenty funerals. An account is kept and twenty rupees are paid when the number is completed. The money is paid by the husband of the woman.

In the ceremony of *kachiitthti*, the men who have married into the family of the dead person have to perform this ceremony and have to pay a fee to the family of the dead person. As we shall see later, the chief mourner at a funeral should receive a buffalo from each of his sons-in-law, and we see here that this tribute is supplemented by an addition to the account kept of the times the cloth is given. The cloth- 764 giving ceremony involves a payment to the family of the dead

[1] The *matchuni* of a person is the child of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister (see Chapter XXI).

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the setting of Kadsht and the appearance of Keirt[1] as the indications that the final ceremonies were to begin, and this was about two o'clock on the following morning. 765

At every funeral place used for the *marvainolkedr*, there is a circle of stones, smaller than that in which the hut is built, with an opening which in some cases faces the east. This circle of stones is the *azaram*, and before the ceremonies begin, a man digs a hole by the opening in its side. The various objects to be burnt with the remains are now brought from the hut in which they had been placed on the previous day, and are laid outside the *azaram* and the *narskedr* is laid by their side. As the remains are removed from the hut, the wailing becomes louder and the people cry bitterly. Outside the stone circle a fire is made of the wood called *kidmän*,[2] upon which clarified butter is poured. This fire, which is known as the *puntiit*, is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased. At the funeral of a male, there is burnt on this fire the dairy vessel called *ertatpun* which had belonged to the dead man, and the imitation buffalo horns called *petkuter*, about ten in number for a man and five for a boy. At the funeral of a woman, I think that a *majpatitthpun* is burnt, viz., a vessel used for fetching buttermilk from the dairy, but I am not certain of this.

There now follows the ceremony called *narsatipimi*, *i.e.*, "the *nars* we rub," in which the leading part is taken by a person of the same sex as the deceased. I only have a full record of this ceremony at a woman's funeral, and in this case a woman took the relics out of their covering, and threw away the pieces of bark in which they had been enclosed. She rubbed butter on the pieces of skull and the hair, put the hair between two pieces of skull, tied them together with thread, and replaced them in the ornamented cloak (*pukuruputkuli*). She then bowed down and touched the remains with her forehead, and then this salutation was performed by all those present. 602 605 765

At a funeral seen by Mr. Thurston,[3] this ceremony was performed on the previous day at the *marvainolkedr*, and in

[1] See Chap. XXV.

[2] Probably *Olea robusta*.

[3] *Bull.*, i. 176.

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602 this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified
605 butter was applied.

This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-
765 in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram*, and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

765 The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the
177 *azaramtüt*, at the funeral of a male :—

439 (*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

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bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus. 765 177

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi tavat*, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*. 439

(*c*) A *nanmakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *koötiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *trkipmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place. 765

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there follows the ceremony[1] called *trsankâti*. At the funeral of a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *asaram*, where they 602 605 765

[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

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602 remain till the fire is extinguished. Owing to the fact that
605 the fire is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased,
765 the two men who cry together will also be *matchuni*—thus, at the funeral of Karspisti (12), the fire was lighted by his half-brother Karzo. Pakhwar (16), who performed the *irsankati* ceremony, was the *matchuni* of both Karzo and Karspisti, being the son of the brother of Tedjveli, the mother of Karzo and stepmother of Karspisti.

At the funeral of a female, the woman who stands at the entrance should also be a *matchuni* of the deceased. She is decorated with ornaments, in this case proper to her own sex, and she stands at the entrance of the *azaram* holding the pounder. She is joined by a woman closely related to the deceased and the two women cry together. After crying together for a while, they go round the circle and then put the pounder on the fire, after which they take off their ornaments.

At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63), Mutkadrk (56 and 72) stood in front of the circle holding the pounder, and was joined by Munat, the daughter of the dead woman.

At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), Edjog (56) stood at the entrance; she was the *matchuni* of the dead woman, being the daughter of Tüliners, the brother of Tersveli's mother. She was joined by Teimidz (52), the sister of the dead woman's husbands.

177 The fire is now extinguished by pouring on water
765 (*kédr tüt ârs kudrchi*). Some of the food put into the pocket of the *putkuli* and in the various vessels may now be taken out[1] and given to the Kotas, who up to this time have been playing the special funeral tunes called *sagerthkwelv*.

765 The ashes are now swept into the hole which had been dug at the opening in the stone circle. They are covered with earth dug from elsewhere and the spot is covered with a stone.

At the funeral of a male, a man of the same clan as the deceased then brings a bell (*kwungg*) and goes round the

[1] This would seem to indicate that when the fire is extinguished, the objects burnt with the relics are far from being consumed by the fire.

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marriage, like Sinerani, one of the Kuudrol. Silkidz also lighted the pyre. 766 588

In spite of the results of his previous infringement of funeral law, Kuriolv made a further departure from orthodox custom in burning on the pyre imitation buffalo horns, which should only be burnt at the funerals of males. Then after being swung over the flames as usual, the body was placed on the pyre.

Less than half an hour later, and long before the body could have been consumed, the *marvainolkedr* began, and passed off without any special incident. Another buffalo was caught and killed and laid by the side of a mantle containing hair which had been cut from the head of the dead child by Keinba. The mantle should also have contained a piece of skull, but the body had not been sufficiently consumed to procure this, and so the hair alone was held to be sufficient.

Later a distribution of grain took place, and those who were to take no part in the *azaramkedr* on the following morning went to their homes.

At another funeral of an unmarried girl, Olidzeimi (21), the ceremony of *pursütpimi* was performed by the boy Pulgudr (38), who had been married in infancy to the girl. He was her *matchuni*, being the son of Teijer, the sister of Parkeidi, Olidzeimi's father. On this occasion Pulgudr said to his father-in-law, Parkeidi, three times, "*pursadikina ?*"—"Shall I touch (with the) bow?" and Parkeidi replied each time, "*Pursad !*"—"Touch with the bow!" Then Pulgudr put the bow and arrow into the hand of the dead girl, and Parkeidi covered Pulgudr's head with the cloak, and the boy put grain, jaggery, and limes into the pocket of the cloak of Olidzeimi. At the funeral of Sinerani, Keinba did not say the proper formula, probably because he was too young.

Funeral Contributions

In the old days, when a large number of buffaloes were slaughtered at the funerals, and especially at the *marvainolkedr*, it was the rule that every *mamukh*, or sister's son, should 764 431 602

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764 supply a buffalo, while in the case of a child it seemed that
431 buffaloes were sometimes given by the *mun*, or mother's brother.

602 Buffaloes were also given by the husbands of the daughters of a man, whether they were the *manmokh* of the man or not. They might be given by other relatives, but it seemed that the gift was especially a duty of the *manmokh* and *paiol*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should also contribute a buffalo for her second funeral.

At the present time the limitation of the number of buffaloes which may be slaughtered has removed the necessity for these gifts, but it still remains the custom for one of the buffaloes to be supplied by the *manmokh* or some corresponding relative, or, at any rate, it seems to be usual for one buffalo to be supplied by relatives of a man on the male side, and the other by relatives on the female side; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (52) one buffalo was given by Kuriolv, the father of the dead child, and the other by Perner (68), the father of the child's mother, and also the grandfather of her husband.

Contributions in money may be made by any relative, and all those who have married into the family of the deceased, even if only boys, should contribute eight annas or a rupee towards the general expenses, this custom being called *tinkanik panm átpimi*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should contribute at least five rupees to the expenses of the second funeral.

The ceremony of *kachütthti* (see p. 358) also involves a payment from his sons-in-law to a man of the same clan as the dead man. The money is not paid, however, till the woman who places the cloths on the body has attended twenty funerals and is, therefore, probably not paid at all in many cases, but it may be regarded as tribute from those who have married into a family at each death in the family.

The contributions of buffaloes and money from a man to the relatives of his wife are called *pòdri*.

Contributions of food are received from various relatives, who also contribute certain of the objects used for the

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adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *manmokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle.

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *samai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased.

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

AMNÒDR

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world,

[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

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601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this
551 restriction only applies to near relatives.
A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.
784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

[765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*,
576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

before women, and men even may bow down before women (see p. 502).

Since, owing to the *mokhthodvaiol* connexion, a Tarthar woman may have a Teivali *mun* and *vice versa*, the *kalmelpudithti* salutation takes place between people of the two divisions, and I have often seen a woman of one division placing her head beneath the foot of a man of the other division.

When a person meets one of his kin, he uses a form of greeting which depends on the nature of the relationship. Most of these greetings consist of some form of the word *iti* or *itvi*, which was said to mean "blessing" or "bless," together with the kinship term.

A man would greet an elder brother or anyone whom he would call *anna* by the word "*tion*," cut very short so as to sound like a single syllable. This is a corruption of *iti anna*. A person greets a younger brother or one whom he would call *enda* by uttering his name followed by the word *ers*, as in "*Sakari ers*," "*Pakhwar ers*." A father is greeted as *itiai*, a mother as *itiava*. An elder sister as *itiakka*; a younger sister as *itvena*, and this latter form is used for any female relative younger than the speaker. It is the duty of younger female relatives to perform the *kalmelpudithti* salutation, and as soon as a man says *itvena*, the woman at once bows down and places her head beneath the raised foot of the man, helping him to raise it at the same time.

A mother's brother or father-in-law (*mun*) is greeted by *itimon* and a *mumi* is greeted by *itimimia*, but so slurred as to be hardly recognisable. The grandfather and grandmother are greeted in the words *itin pia* and *itin piava*.

Whenever a new Toda came to join people who were with me, there would be a chorus of greetings, and the newcomer would look round carefully to see who was present, giving to each his proper salutation and obviously taking the greatest care that no one was overlooked. Since the relationship of brother is the most frequent, the greetings heard most often on these occasions were "*tion*" and "....*ers*."

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to
764 the salutation of the dead. When the body first reaches
the funeral place it is saluted by all present, and in the
602 case of kin, the mode of salutation varies with the bond of
601 kinship. Those related to the deceased as *in*, *av*, *pian*, *piav*, *mun*, *mumi*, *an*, or *akkan*, bow down at the head of the corpse and touch the body with their foreheads, while all those whom the deceased would have called *enda* or *ena* bow down at the feet. The place saluted by those who are not kin is determined by age, but in the case of kin, the bond of kinship is more important than the age, so that the former condition determines the mode of salutation. Thus at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), Kòdrner (7) saluted at the head of the dead woman. He was the younger, but was her *mun* owing to the fact that Kiuneimi's step-mother Kureimi, was a Kars woman whom Kòdrner called sister.

THE DUTIES OF KIN

602 The funeral ceremonies provide the greatest number of
764 examples of kinship duties, the parts taken by many of the mourners being determined largely by their bonds of kinship to the deceased. The place of chief mourner is taken by the brother or son of a dead man, by the husband of a dead woman, and by the father of a dead child, though, at the funeral of a girl, the husband plays the most important *rôle*.

Various duties fall to relatives of the same clan or of the same family of the clan. The earth-throwing at the funeral of a male, the smearing of butter on the buffalo, lighting the pyre at the first funeral and the two fires at the *azaramkedr*, and ringing the bell at the final scene, are all performed by near relatives of the same clan and family as the deceased.

Cutting off a lock of hair and mixing food are acts performed by the chief mourner, who is of the same clan as the deceased, whether brother, son, husband, or father.

The *manmokh*, or sister's son (who may be also son-in-law), has certain definite duties. Formerly, when many buffaloes were killed, one was always given by the sister's son, and he still gives a thread cord, called *pennar*. Many other relatives give these cords, but that given by the *manmokh* is especially

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

602. 764

honoured in that it is put round the body of the dead man inside his cloak, and not merely laid on the covering of the body as are the others.

The *mun* does not appear to have any duties at a funeral, though in old days he contributed a buffalo, and, at the present time, one of the two buffaloes slaughtered may be given by the *mun* or other representative of the mother's family.

The *matchuni* (child of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt) has several duties, of which the most important are those at the *irsaṇkati* ceremony of the *azaramkedr*. The other duties are the secondary result of the marriage regulation which makes the *matchuni* the natural bridegroom or bride, and, in consequence, it is the *matchuni* who performs the *pursütpimi* ceremony at the funeral of an unmarried girl. Similarly, the *matchuni* may take the place of a *paiol* at the cloth-giving ceremony.

The duties which have, however, the greatest social interest are those performed by the relatives by marriage. At the funeral of a woman certain ceremonies, such as that in which leaves of the *tiveri* plant are put in the dead woman's armlet, the *urvatpimi* ceremony for an unmarried girl, rubbing the relics, lighting the fire at the *azaramkedr*, and burning the funeral hut, should be performed by the daughter-in-law of a woman or the mother-in-law of a girl. These relatives are, however, of the same clan as the deceased, owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of the same clan as her husband; and I am therefore doubtful how far these relatives perform the duties in question as members of the same clan, and how far as relatives by marriage. Some of the duties, such as lighting the funeral fires, are done by men of the same clan at the funeral of men; and I am therefore inclined to believe that they are performed by a woman for this reason and not because she is mother-in-law or daughter-in-law, but this point is one which must remain indefinite with our present information.

Similarly the duty of covering the head is a little difficult to understand. The head of a widower is covered (see p. 365) by one of his *paiol*—his father-in-law or his brother-in-law—and in this case it is clearly a duty which falls to a relative by

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

602 764 marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

602 604 In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tersampt-pimi* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

553 It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

602 605 Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when they pass in company over either of the two sacred rivers of the Todas, the Paikara (Teipakh) and the Avalanche (Pakhwar). As the two men approach the river, they pluck and chew some grass, and each man says to the other "*pò thidrikina, pò kudrikina?*"—"Shall I throw the river (water), shall I cross the river?" or, instead of the second sentence, they may say "*pò pûkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the river?" They then go to the side of the river and each man dips his hand in the water and throws a handful away from him three times and then they cross the river, each with the right arm outside the cloak as is usual when crossing these sacred streams.

602
605
788

If the *matchuni* cross on a Tuesday, Friday or Saturday[1] they do not throw water, but are content with chewing the grass, and if the funeral ceremonies of a person belonging to the clan of either are not complete the water will not be thrown.

This ceremony performed by *matchuni* when crossing a sacred river was said to be connected with the legend given on p. 592, in which two *matchuni* are concerned.

[1] Properly the river should not be crossed at all on these days (see p. 418).

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

as may be most convenient to them. In either case, the marriage both in name and in fact, is identical.

It is the custom for the husband to give a feast to his nearest relatives on such a joyous occasion.

It will be seen that up to this stage, the woman is married with her own consent to one man—he who pays the dowry, or gives security to society for his own good behaviour. But now, if the husband has brothers or very near relatives, all living together, they may each, if both she and he consent, participate in the right to be considered her husband also, on making up a share of the dowry that has been paid. In fact it was formerly their almost universal custom—in the days when women were more scarce than they are now—for *a family of near relations to live together in one mand, having wife, children and cattle all in common.*

Now if we consider that one or more brothers may each become the husbands of separate wives by virtue of having each paid a dower, and that younger brothers as they grow to age of maturity, and other brothers as they become widowed, may each, either take separate wives or purchase shares in those already in the family, we can at once understand that any degree of complication in perfectly lawful wedded life, may be met with, from the sample of the single man living with a single wife, to that of the group of relatives married to a group of wives. We begin to see also why tribes following polyandrous habits, endeavour to prevent further complications by making widows 'remain in the family.'

All the children of these very promiscuous unions are held to be brothers and sisters. And as, as is manifest, a generation or two of such marriages must produce inextricable confusion in relationships, so we find that the Todas, who like nothing so much as reducing things to simple formulæ, rather ignore the whole subject, terming them anatama.[1] They will

[1] See Note 19 of Chapter VII.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXV. describe the connection between such brotners as follows: 'Their fathers are brothers-in-law: their mothers being sisters, they are brothers.' An uncle is styled 'my little father'; most significant.

The marriage system I have described is elastic. It is capable of being modified in its internal working without change in the actual principle. Thus, when women are scarce, several men have to be content with one wife between them. But as women become more numerous, a greater proportion of men are able to procure a wife a-piece. This condition of permanent routine is supremely satisfying to the Toda mind.

The general expression for marriage is represented by the word kûdiken — I join.[5] Thus, 'Beliani is married to Nastufi' would be translated Beliani Nastufig kûdthchi, or they are joined to one another. But in addressing a man with the casual question of, 'Are you married?' the ordinary way of putting it, would be to say, 'Is there a son?'—Mokh vathchya? He would reply, Ha, mokh vathchi, 'Yes, there is a son:' or if married, but childless, he would detail, Ân kukh kûdthbini, mokh illade—'I joined a woman, a son is not.'

Similarly, the enquiry made of a woman would be, Belthta gavthchya?—'Is the neck-ring tied?'[6]

Mr. Metz has been so good as to describe for me a singular custom connected with weddings, which he learnt subsequently to my having left the Nilagiris: of which no sort of explanation can be supplied by the Todas.

When the wife has gone seven months with her first child, she retires with her husband alone, to the depths of the village wood, where at the foot of some tree she places a

[5] I am not certain that in the word 'join,' we have got the most primitive meaning of kûdiken. The Hindustani word kûdna, and its Sanskrit root kurdd = *play*, might be compared.

[6] For the modes in which husbands and wives address one another, see Chapter VII.

618 wind loudly eighteen times." As a result of this exploit, the men of this
539 poʃjoıʃ are forbidden to become poʃoıʃ to this tiı. Another story is told of these people, similar to that told of the moγδɯtkoıt ʃvojvoʃjoıʃ of the other division. It is said that a child was heated at the fire (it seems with the intention of making ghee from it) until it died. Then it was hung up on a
[522] tree and the people wept, closing one eye. All these stories were checked by getting them from as many different informants as possible, and agreement on them is very close, though details differ in the different accounts. The large element of the ridiculous in them puts them in line with the kŭɯdzɯl, the Toda's favorite sport when sitting about in a company. Stories are told of members of the company in which the wildest and most improbable actions are attributed to them. Why the poʃjoıʃ should have become the object of such sport it is hard to say, but under the circumstances one cannot seek for much historical truth in the stories.

● 602 A number of taboos on actions and language operate in the intercourse
835 between ŭɯdmortkvæıdvoj and poʃjoıʃ of opposite sex. The primary one is the taboo on sexual intercourse, and most of the others are obviously to be considered as avoidances of incitement to this. The taboos begin to operate at puberty. They apply also to relations between parents and adult children, especially between father and daughter (it is to be remembered that a daughter when married no longer belongs strictly to the father's mod), and to relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law (she is strictly not related to him as ŭɯdmortkvæıdvoj) and between mother-in-law and son-in-law (she is not in any sense his poʃjoıʃ or his ŭɯdmortkvæıdvoj). It is said that the taboos have now slackened somewhat except between father and daughter, and the impression given is that observance of them was never very rigid except when a fairly large company was present. For example, it is clear from Rivers' account and from my informants' accounts that irregular sexual intercourse was and is common. When it is found out and becomes known to the people of the tribe, the noıjm or council takes cognizance of it and imposes on the man a fine of at least one buffalo.

602 Most of the taboos on action, other than that on sexual intercourse, seem designed to prevent physical contact or the unchaperoned presence in one another's company of a man and a woman of the prohibited degrees of affinity. In the latter class must be put the prohibition against two such persons traveling together unaccompanied from one place to another. An exception is made for a man and his mother. Taboos against physical contact are as follows. They may not sit on the same tuɲ or raised earth seat; they may not touch one another, and so may not assist one another in dress-

½ [See pp 106 and 107, cat. 539 — Analyst]

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by [264] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poljoɪl or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poljoɪl of the opposite sex.

602 533 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poljoɪl of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 602 196 192 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poljoɪl or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to [333] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is [522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mɯɾɣŭɑrt–, "neck-cut," and kŭɑrtɣŭɯɾt–, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɪdjvŏɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

196 521 192 602 Thus aḍð–, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also kuʃt–, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nɑrtj–, "make walk," is permitted when ur, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[19] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb poɪj–, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj–, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪtj–, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again ɑtvɑt is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way puɪn, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." [841] [304] Similarly poɪθj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kɪɪpoɳt, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

578 621 These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of ŭuɑmortkvæɪdvoj or poʃjoɪʃ within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

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[19] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

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841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [1193] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [2134] the next new moon.

841 718 234 [462] The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [718] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [716] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology.*
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating mar-*
614 *riage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matri-lineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: ". . . even when the
601 lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

[171] It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

114 The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
602 word, *puliol.* Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
614 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ, ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
[582] that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
[171] halese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

> [Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him, [otherwise] there are no objections. (Emeneau, 1937, p. 105) 114 602 614

Emeneau's examples are clear enough. In fact, he also provides internal and conclusive evidence that the Toda disagree with him. About the use of the term *puliol* he says, in a later work (1941, p. 171): "Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and this branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before the matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way." And, he goes on, "we feel that the pūliol (Rivers' spelling) relation between mother and daughter is perhaps is point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it." In fact, the Toda merely say that *puliol* includes all the relatives without reference to matri-sib.

The matter is not really very complicated. Emeneau comes surprisingly near but entirely misses the point. He notes (1937, p. 106) that the semantics of the word *puliol* means "man of the puli or palli," but, saying that "will not explain our word," he goes off in an entirely different direction trying to find exogamous "houses." In fact, the semantics are quite eloquent: *puliol* are the people who are sacred like the *palli* (dairy)—that is, no "entrance" is permitted.[8] They are precisely all the prohibited categories of kin; hence the term appears to stand opposed to *paiol* or "affines." Rivers does not juxtapose the two but makes the meaning of *paiol* abundantly clear in his treatment of Toda funerals (e.g., 1906, p. 358). The *paiol* (pp. 450, 459) are precisely the persons such as MB (or father-in-law), cross-cousins, ZS (or son-in-law) whom Dumont (1957*b*) has singled out as "affines." 114 602 196

Hence we see in the Toda case that Dumont's highly interesting structural juxtaposition of "kin vs. affine" is noted and culturally recognized by the Toda themselves in the opposition of *puliol* or *paliol* vs. *paiol*, or kin/affine. 114 602

It seems clear that what Rivers wrote in 1906 accords well with some of the best recent analyses of South Indian kin structures. Whatever we finally arrive at as the real meaning of the term *puliol*, we

[8] Prince Peter of Greece in a very interesting paper also notes these semantics and links the *puliol* with prohibited categories of kin which he describes, following Emeneau, as "matrilineal sibs." Yet the line of argument from the prohibition of sexual relations between children suckled by one mother to "matrilineal sib" is by no means clear. The Sinhalese, too, have similar ideas on milk kinship" (see above, p. 139) without corporate matrilineages. The evidence for "sibs" such as names which connote obscenity, joking, and simple myths seems curiously meager. This case, too, really rests on the sexual prohibitions which, as we have argued, permit interpretations of a nonlineal kind. I came across this material too late to incorporate it into the chapter. See Peter, Prince of Greece (1951). [614]

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

114 602 cannot assume that wherever we have marriage prohibitions we must also find exogamous lineages.

[171] In fact, on the basis of Rivers' evidence, the Toda can be established as a particular instance of the general structure described for Ceylon. The crucial indices are present: (1) Cross-cousin categories associated with the systematic Dravidian terminology and marriage rules; and (2) the formally recognized rights and obligations between (MB-ZS) (FZ-BD) and between cross-cousins of either type. The tabulation of Toda requirements will establish them as using the same general structure described above.

MB-ZS	F-S
ZS named by MB (Rivers, 1906, p. 332) (BD named by FZ p. 332)	Handburning (p. 315)
Hair cutting and naming by MB (p. 333)	Bow-and-arrow ritual (pp. 319 f.) before birth to establish paternity
Ear-piercing by MB (p. 334)	Uncover boy's face (p. 331)
Funeral: ZS to supply buffalo; for child MB (also S-in-L)	F chief mourner at funeral
Name of MB and F-in-L tabooed to ZS (and S-in-L) (p. 494)	S chief fourner at funeral
ZS gives cord tied around corpse of MB	Cutting of lock of hair at funeral by "son, brother, or father"
Special ceremonial exchanges at funeral	
Matchuni (Cross-cousins)	Brothers
Important role in funerals (p. 499)	No special ceremonial obligations outstanding
Special ceremonial acts while eating together, crossing rivers, etc.	
Special role of male *matchuni* at funeral of female *matchuni*	
Male and female *matchuni* proper sexual mates	

171 582 601 602 The similarities between the Toda kin structure and the Kandyan Sinhalese go far beyond the superficial. Emeneau rightly observed, for instance, that "these fundamental rules [i.e., the prohibitions inherent in the terminology] govern not only marriage but also all sexual relationships" (1937, p. 104). The same is, of course, true of the Kandyans. It is because the rules of mating are clearly established that the actual connection between the husband and wife can be extremely tenuous. And since paternity is legally and publicly established at the bow-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

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Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.